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Interview Granted by NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the State Council,

to the Yugoslav "Komunist" Journal's Chief Editor Gavro Altman

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Interview granted by Nicolae Ceauşescu to the Journal "Komunist" of Yugoslavia

As already reported, Nicolae Ceauşescu received Gavro Altman, Chief-Editor of the weekly "Komunist" organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, on November 13, 1969. On that occasion, Nicolae Ceauşescu granted the following interview to the Yugoslav journalist:

QUESTION: Please allow me, Comrade General Secretary, to begin with a general question concerning the international situation. Although the big powers show readiness to seek possibilities of understanding, especially in the domains where they have major interests - I am bearing in mind the limitation of the new, extremely expensive forms of the arms race - we could hardly cast off the feeling that peace is unstable, that its destinies are uncertain. What are the causes of this instability, what can be undertaken to remove it and, especially, what should the small and medium-sized countries do, which have to suffer most from the tension in international relations.

ANSWER: In her assessment of the international situation, Romania sets out from the fact that - in spite of the existing hotbeds of war and of tension in various parts of the world - nevertheless, the forces speaking up for peace, for a policy of cooperation among all the states of the world, regardless of their social system have been growing and have been acquiring an increasingly important

role in recent years. We reckon that the forces acting for detente and cooperation are on the growth, that a real possibility exists for the promotion of a policy of peace and of peaceful cooperation in international life.

As to the sources of tension in various regions of the world, we consider that they are an outgrowth of the policy of domination and force promoted by the imperialist circles; from this, I believe, follows also the answer to your question about what should be done in order to put an end to tension, to safeguard peace. First of all, I consider it necessary that one should act for an end to the imperialist policy of domination, of interference in the internal affairs of other states. This calls for all the anti-imperialist forces - the communist parties, the socialist countries, the national liberation movements and other democratic forces - to act in union for preventing the immixture in the affairs of other states, for an end to the policy of domination. I consider it particularly necessary that the fight for the abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism should be intensified, that support be given to the peoples rising for their national liberation, for independent development.

Highly important for the ensuring of world peace and cooperation is the assertion in inter-state relationships of the principles of national sovereignty and independence, non-interference in the internal affairs, observance of each people's right to decide on its development according to its own will.

I hold that in the achievement of peace - this major desideratum of all mankind - an important role devolves on all the states of the world, regardless of their social system, their size or their economic and military strength. We understand, of course, the special role of the big

countries in international life, their responsibility in the solving of the problems facing mankind today. Obviously, we also take into account the fact that big imperialist countries and big socialist countries exist in the world, and that fundamental differences exist between the policies they promote; setting out from this, we bear in mind the important role of the big socialist countries in ensuring peace. At the same time we hold that the problems of peace cannot be solved without the participation of all the states of the world. And in this connection, we take into account the fact that the small and medium-sized countries are socialist, capitalist or developing countries; we consider that a special role in the fight for peace devolves also on the small and medium-sized socialist countries, which have to conduct an active policy, to develop relations with all the states, to contribute to the solving of the present-day problems of international life in the interest of world peace and cooperation.

QUESTION: In the Report of the Central Committee delivered to the Tenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party you have extensively referred to the principles which should underlie the relations among the socialist countries. I understand this referred to a qualitatively superior international cooperation which, as you have said, is influenced by some objective conditions generated by the existing differences as to the historical development stage of the respective countries, but also by failure to understand and ignorance of these differences. What are the prospects for and the means of eliminating the difficulties of a subjective nature?

ANSWER: With the triumph of socialism in a series of countries, the problem arose implicitly, of organizing the international relations among them by proceeding from the fact that the socialist countries are developing under different conditions and that they have to solve absolutely new tasks. It is known that inter-state relations in the past were actually based on the principle of the stronger's domination over the weaker; this is characteristic of the imperialist policy. The emergence of the socialist states posed the problem of establishing relations upon new principles. In this respect we rely on the Marxist-Leninist teaching and on proletarian internationalism which presuppose that among states - and especially among the socialist states - relations of full equality, of mutual respect, non-interference in the internal affairs, of active mutual assistance in economic construction and in international life should exist. Hence, we proceed from the necessity of the development of relations to lead to close cooperation among the socialist countries, to contribute to the strengthening of their unity, to be a model for all states of the world.

Certainly, the assertion of such type of relations does not occur of itself; it requires time and, of course presupposses doing away with a series of old mentalities which still continue, under one form or another, also under socialism.

Well-known is the affirmation of the classics of Marxism-Leninism according to which the old habits and mentalities do not disappear overnight, that they must be fought for a long time, and that the success of this fight depends on the economic, social, cultural and scientific development. We feel that, in the relations among the socialist countries subjective expressions appear sometimes, which have their roots in non-observance of the principles

of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism. Hence, in order to develop the relations among the socialist countries, to strengthen their unity we consider it necessary that observance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, should be strictly attended to.

In our opinion, this present state of affairs is transient, the difficulties will be overcome; there are really conditions for achieving qualitatively superior relations among the socialist countries, for strengthening their cooperation in all spheres of activity. As a matter of fact, these last few months have witnessed a series of positive actions and results along this line. If all the socialist states, all the communist and workers' parties of these countries will consistently act for removing the difficulties, for seeking out the ways and means of expanded cooperation and strengthened unity, we shall get over the present tense situation in a relative short period.

As far as Romania is concerned, she has acted and continues to act consistently along this line; she will actively contribute in the future, too, to the development of cooperation and of unity with all the socialist states.

QUESTION: Your country, and our country, too, are profoundly interested in the achievement of European security, in substituting the faltering balance of blocs by a lasting and steady security system, based on the cooperation of all the European countries. As the conditions for the holding of the European conference on security are growing ripe, it becomes increasingly necessary for the general principles be completed with adequate, concrete proposals. Would you suggest any such proposal.

ANSWER: Of course, European security is an ardent and topical desideratum of all the peoples on this continent. We hold that, in recent years, positive results have been registered along the development of cooperation among the states of the Continent, that favourable conditions have been created for a realistic approach to the European security question. We consider that an important part on this line was played by the decisions adopted by the socialist countries in 1966, in Bucharest, and at the Budapest Conference of March this year, as well as by the recent Prague meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of these countries.

We assess as positive the proposals for the organization of a meeting of the European countries; such a meeting is necessary and it would have a special significance for the development of cooperation and trust among the states on the Continent. We pay special attention to the proposal regarding the adoption of a statement or of a document on refraining from the use of force, as well as on the development of economic, comercial, and technico-scientific relations among the European states. We maintain that these are the most topical problems whose solving would render possible the creation of a basis for lasting cooperation among the European countries, would open the path to the subsequent solution, of other European problems as well. We believe that it is necessary for each European state to act on this line. It would be useful if a series of bilateral and multilateral meetings would take place with the aim of preparing this meeting in the best of conditions.

QUESTION: I would like to ask you to refer to the principles for and the way in which the inter-state economic, comercial and technico-scientific relations should develop.

ANSWER: We are setting out from the fact that the problem of economic, commercial and technico-scientific cooperation in Europe, just as the world over, is essential for the development of inter-state relationships, for general progress and the ensuring of peace. Under the conditions of the present technico-scientific revolution, the economic and social advancement of a country, of a people, cannot be conceived without close cooperation with other states and peoples. Therefore, we consider that the European states should place intensified and expanded economic, commercial and technico-scientific collaboration and cooperation into the foreground. Obviously, this cooperation and collaboration should be based on the principles of equality among states, should proceed from the interests of each partner and, at the same time, open the possibility for a more free and ampler exchange of products, and technologies, as well as of scientific gains. This requires, of course, abandonment of the tendencies towards closed economic groppings - such as the Common Market - with the possibilities being created for the expansion of bilateral and multilateral relations. Naturally, the patterns of such relations may be different - we should not try to limit them, to circumscribe them in a narrow framework. What we should bear in mind, however, is that this collaboration, this economic and technico-scientific cooperation must contribute to the fast development of each state, must exclude the possibility of forms of domination. In this way, numberless, mutually advantageous cooperation patterns may by sought out.

QUESTION: Broaching now the subject of Romania's domestic development, allow me to remark, that a foreign observer who is objective and who means well cannot but be impressed with the great efforts that are being made for the progress

and modernization of economy. How do you appreciate the main results and the imediate aims of these efforts.

ANSWER: As I have also pointed out at the Tenth Congress, Romania lays special stress on the organization of a modern industry, based on new technique. We also pay special attention to agriculture as it is one of the basic branches of our economy. We may say that we have obtained satisfactory results on these lines, the present Five-Year Plan is being implemented in good conditions.

The growth of industry, of our economy as a whole, posed the problem of improving the managerial and planning patterns for economic activity. On proceeding to the implementation of these tasks, we set out from the necessity of a most rational tie-in of plan-based national and single management of economy, and broad autonomy and independence of the economic units. A set of measures have been taken on this line, while other measures are under way of being made final. These measures refer to more powers to the enterprises, to the setting up of economic centrals or combines to have extensive powers in the matter of planning and management of economic activity of the group of component enterprises. We work for the decentralization of some tasks, improved planning and improved financial activity, increased responsibility of enterprises and of centrals, relieving economic ministries of certain duties.

The results are generally positive, although the activity of the centrals has just started; they were inaugurated less than a year ago. We want to lay more stress within the centrals, on streamlining the enterprises to a large-scale production, to an ample development of cooperation both on a national level and with other states. The organization of centrals or combines, of large economic

complexes will create favourable conditions for a broader specialization and cooperation on a national as well as international level, it will ensure the possibility for a faster introduction of modern technique into production, the general improvement of the quality of the entire economic activity.

QUESTION: In the Report delivered to Congress, you said that the Romanian Communist Party proceeds in its activity from the premise that "parallel to the growth of the productive forces the constant improvement of the relations of production must be ensured". In this respect, you have emphasized the necessity of collective management of economic enterprises and of the direct participation of the working people in the conduct of economic activity, and you have insisted upon the development of socialist democracy and the combating of bureaucracy by control performed by the masses over the activity of all bodies of power. Please, refer to these questions.

ANSWER: We have proceeded to the organization and improvement of collective leadership; we have set up management boards in enterprises and council boards in the centrals and combines, which have the task of running the entire activity of the respective units. We have drawn into the managerial bodies of enterprises, which include executives and the finest experts, also exponents of trade unions and representatives of the employees designated at the general meetings of the working people. We have introduced the principle of collective work also in the leadership of ministries, to the effect that a deliberative character has been assigned to their leading bodies, they take decisions on the main problems of economic development.

Within the enterprises, we have assigned an important role to the employees' general meetings - which have to analyse the economic activity of the respective units, to exercise mass control over the work going on in the enterprise for the development of production and, at the same time, to mobilize the efforts of the entire collective for perfecting economic activity.

Of course, we are only at the beginning, but experience will help us to steadily improve activity in this respect. I want to add that, in this field, we studied in beforehand the experience of other socialist countries and we continue to study it, we take into account everything that appears to be good in one country or another. We thus strive to constantly improve activity in economy.

As to the future, the management of economic activity - the same as in all fields - will proceed upon a more and more democratic basis, with the broad participation of the collectives of working people; we will create a good background to enable broad discussion of the problems of our society's advancement, with a view to seeking out the most suitable ways and means of building socialism.

QUESTION: Romania and Yugoslavia are among the countries which can take pride in a friendship tradition of long standing. At present, the identity of social system too, as well as the multitude of common standpoints on the contemporary world bring us closer to each other. What should be undertaken, in your opinion, both by one side and the other, for the continuous development of the relations among our countries, and for the still faster advancement on the path of practical collaboration.

ANSWER: True, there are long-standing relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Yugoslavia. There were never litigious problems among our peoples. All along their historical development, they helped each other in order to ensure their independent development. Under the new conditions, when socialism is being built both in Romania and Yugoslavia, - passing over the moments which for a period had cast a shadow on our collaboration - the relations between Romania and Yugoslavia have witnessed a strong development.

We reckon that today the relations between our countries and parties are of the best, that both on an economic, scientific and cultural level as well as in international life, Romania and Yugoslavia promote broad cooperation, making their active contribution to the solving of the problems of world peace and progress. I would like to mention, by the way, the meetings between the representatives of our two states and parties, the meetings with Comrade Tito respectively, which are precisely a proof of the relations of close cooperation and friendship between our countries and parties.

As to the economic relations, they have witnessed fast progress in recent years; an example, in this respect, is provided by the joint building of the Iron Gates hidropower station. Of course, we cannot say that maximum has been reached; as a matter of fact, this could be never said. I consider that great possibilities still exist for amplifying our economic collaboration. In order to turn these possibilities into reality, it is necessary for both the Romanian and the Yugoslav enterprises, for both the Romanian Government and the Yugoslav Government to act for the concrete application of the decisions the Party and State leaders of Yugoslavia and Romania have jointly taken.

A series of problems form the object of discussions between the experts of our two countries. Some of them have already been solved, while others, we hope, will be solved in the future; essential, in my opinion, both for Romania and Yugoslavia is to lay special stress on an improved quality of products. I mean the technical level and everything related to it; this is an essential premise favouring the expansion of exchanges between our countries. I am referring to what has to be done by the Romanian enterprises, since as regards the Yugoslav enterprises, this problems was, is and will be a concern of the Yugoslav leaders.

We concern ourselves with the Romanian enterprises, with our ministries to act more firmly for solving the problems related to the expansion of the relations between the two countries. I am sure that the Yugoslav and the Romanian enterprises and ministries will find joint solutions and will ensure the expansion of technical and economic cooperation. I consider it particularly necessary that one should pass on to a higher form, to the development of cooperation in production between the enterprises of our countries. This is one of the essential problems of our relations and I hold that both Romania and Yugoslavia are interested in doing more in this respect.

In conclusion, I ask you to convey to the Party, to the communists, to all Yugoslav citizens, warm wishes of prosperity, of happiness and of success in building socialism. And, of course, the wish for the steady development of the relations between our countries, in the interest and to the benefit of both peoples.

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